

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9112
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USBERLIN
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 10119

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, GW, UR, WB
SUBJECT: GENSCHER VISIT TO MOSCOW: DETENTE, BILATERAL
RELATIONS AND BERLIN

BEGIN SUMMARY: AN FRG BRIEFING TO THE BONN GROUP
INDICATES THAT GENSCHER AND GROMYKO DISCUSSED IN THEIR
INITIAL MEETINGS THE IMPORTANCE OF BERLIN TO THEIR
BILATERAL RELATIONS BUT DID NOT GET INTO SPECIFICS.
THE ONLY AGREEMENT WAS THAT AN EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE
TO CONCLUDE THE THREE PENDING BILATERAL AGREEMENTS
BEFORE BREZHNEV VISITS BONN. GROMYKO COMPLAINED
ABOUT THE FEDERAL PRESENCE IN BERLIN, CLAIMING THAT
THE FRG HAD ESTABLISHED "HUNDREDS OF INSTITUTIONS"
THERE IN VIOLATION OF THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT. HE
ALSO REFERRED TO DISCUSSIONS IN THE FRG OVER THE
NATURE OF THE FRG-GDR BOUNDARY AS A REFLECTION OF A
RESURGENCE OF AN "OLD SPIRIT" WHICH, AFTER THE
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TREMENDOUS PROGRESS OF THE PAST, WAS COMPLICATING
FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF BILATERAL RELATIONS.

GENSCHER STRESSED THE FRG'S COMPLIANCE WITH THE FORMU-
LATION, "STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION"
OF THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT AND NOTED THAT THE QA
PROVIDED THAT THE TIES BETWEEN WEST BERLIN AND THE FRG

WOULD BE MAINTAINED AND DEVELOPED. HE CONCLUDED THAT
"THE HEART OF GERMANS BEATS IN AND FOR BERLIN" AND
THAT THE CITY REMAINED "THE TOUCHSTONE OF DETENTE."
END SUMMARY

1. FRG REP (VON ARNIM) BRIEFED THE BONN GROUP ON
JUNE 15 ON GENSCHER'S RECEPTION AND FIRST TWO SESSIONS
IN MOSCOW. VON ARNIM MENTIONED ONLY THOSE PARTS OF
THE DISCUSSION WHICH HAD SOME BEARING ON BERLIN,
ASSUMING THAT BRIEFINGS ON OTHER ASPECTS OF THE
GENSCHER VISIT WOULD BE GIVEN IN OTHER FORA.

2. AFTER A FRIENDLY RECEPTION, GENSCHER HAD HIS FIRST
MEETING WITH GROMYKO ON THE AFTERNOON OF JUNE 13,
DURING WHICH THE RECORD OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
1970 USSR-FRG TREATY WAS DISCUSSED. GENSCHER STRESSED
THE IMPORTANCE OF THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONS FOR
DETENTE IN EUROPE, AND CITED THE FRG'S "TREATIES
POLICY " (VERTRAGSPOLITIK) AS ITS ESSENTIAL CONTRIBU-
TION TO GETTING DETENTE UNDER WAY.

3. GROMYKO SAID THAT IMPORTANT PROGRESS HAD BEEN
MADE SINCE BILATERAL RELATIONS WERE ESTABLISHED IN 1955
AND REFERRED TO THE 1970 USSR-FRG TREATY AS A PRE-
CONDITION FOR CSCE. HOWEVER, HE SCORED THOSE WHO
WANTED NO IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS AND OTHERS WHO
"BUILT CASTLES-IN-THE-AIR." THE USSR DID NOT BELONG
TO EITHER OF THOSE CATEGORIES.

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4. GENSCHER REPLIED THAT WITHOUT THE USSR-FRG TREATY

THERE WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN THE FRG'S OTHER BILATERAL
TREATIES WITH EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES OR THE QA,
NOR WOULD CSCE HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE. IF BOTH SIDES
ASSESSED THE SITUATION IN THIS WAY, THEY WOULD
REALIZE THAT THEY SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR DETENTE
IN EUROPE. IT FOLLOWED THAT ALL EFFORTS SHOULD BE
MADE TO ACHIEVE SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS TO IRRITATING
PROBLEMS AND THAT ALL PARTIES HAD TO RESPECT THE
TREATIES.

5. GROMYKO SAID GENSCHER WOULD BE SURPRISED IF HE
WERE NOT TO BRING UP THE MATTERS THAT WERE IRRITATING.
IN THIS CONTEXT, HE REFERRED TO DISCUSSION IN THE
FRG ON THE NATURE OF THE FRG- GDR BORDER: WAS IT A
BORDER BETWEEN STATES, AND WAS IT ONLY OF A "PROVI-

SIGNAL" NATURE? IN JOINT COMMUNIQUE, BOTH SIDES
PLEDGED STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF
THE QA, BUT THE RESULT WAS "COMPLETELY DIFFERENT."
"STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION" WAS A
FORMULATION PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET UNION, BUT IT HAD
NOT BEEN ADHERED TO. HUNDREDS OF INSTITUTIONS BELONG-

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 10119

ING TO THE FRG WERE "GROWING LIKE MUSHROOMS" IN WEST
BERLIN. SOME WERE DIRECTLY CALLED "FEDERAL AGENCIES,"
WHILE OTHERS HAD OTHER NAMES AS A SUBTERFUGE. ALL THIS
DID NOT CORRESPOND TO THE QA, EVEN THOUGH THE GERMANS
KNEW VERY WELL WHAT WAS IN THAT DOCUMENT. THAT SOME
STATEMENTS BY NATO ALLIES WERE FAVORABLE TO THE FRG
ACTIONS DID NOT CHANGE THIS FACT.

6. GROMYKO CONTINUED THAT THE FRG'S ATTITUDE TOWARD
THE QA WAS A VERY SERIOUS QUESTION. AN "OLD SPIRIT"
WAS SHOWING--ALSO TOWARDS THE GDR--BOTH IN FEDERAL
LEGISLATION AND IN STATEMENTS MADE BY POLITICIANS. THIS
ATTITUDE INTRODUCED NOT A SMALL DOSE OF POISON

INTO THE TREMENDOUS PROGRESS OF THEIR RELATIONS. THE SOVIET SIDE COULD NEVER ACCEPT THIS. IF THE FRG WOULD FOLLOW THE LETTER AND THE SPIRIT OF THE QA, IT
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WOULD LOSE NOTHING. THESE NEGATIVE ASPECTS WERE COMPLICATING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR RELATIONS.

7. GENSCHER REPLIED THAT GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE THE FRG ATTACHED TO ITS TREATIES POLICY AND THE QA, IT WAS A FOREGONE CONCLUSION THAT IT WOULD RESPECT ITS OBLIGATIONS. THE PHILOSOPHY OF DETENTE CONSISTED OF THE SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE AND OF AN AWARENESS THAT DIFFERING LEGAL POSITIONS COULD NOT BE OVERCOME. "STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION" (THE SO-CALLED "PETERSBURG FORMULA," FIRST USED IN THE 1973 BRANDT-BREZHNEV COMMUNIQUE) WAS NOT DEVELOPED EXCLUSIVELY BY THE USSR, BUT WAS AN EXAMPLE OF USSR-FRG "CO-PRODUCTION." A PART OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THAT FORMULATION WAS RESPECT FOR THE GROWING TIES BETWEEN THE FRG AND BERLIN AND FOR THE FACT THAT THE FRG WOULD CONTINUE TO DO WHAT WAS NECESSARY TO STRENGTHEN THE VIABILITY OF BERLIN.

8. GENSCHER CONTINUED THAT THE FRG ATTACHED THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO ACTING IN CONCERT WITH THOSE POWERS (I.E., THE THREE ALLIES) WHO WERE SIGNATORIES BOTH OF THE QA AND OF THE BONN CONVENTIONS, BECAUSE THOSE POWERS HAD RESERVED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN GERMANY. IT WAS NECESSARY TO CREATE A CLIMATE IN WHICH DIFFERENCES OF OPINION COULD BE OVERCOME. THIS ALSO APPLIED TO THE THREE TREATIES (CURRENTLY PENDING BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE FRG) AND TO THE QUESTION OF REPRESENTATION OF THE INTERESTS OF BERLIN ABROAD. GENSCHER STRESSED THAT THE HEART OF THE GERMANS WOULD BEAT IN AND FOR BERLIN. IN AN APPARENT REFERENCE TO THE QUADRIPARTITE LONDON SUMMIT DECLARATION, HE SAID THE FRG ATTACHED THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO THE STATEMENT THAT STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE QA WAS OF THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE AND THAT BERLIN WOULD REMAIN THE "TOUCHSTONE OF DETENTE."
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9. ON THE MORNING OF JUNE 14, GENSCHER AND GROMYKO HAD A PRIVATE MEETING FOLLOWED BY A SECOND MEETING

OF BOTH DELEGATIONS AT WHICH MULTILATERAL ISSUES WERE
DISCUSSED. IT WAS DECIDED THAT, IN REGARD TO THE THREE
PENDING TREATIES BETWEEN THE FRG AND USSR, AN EFFORT
SHOULD BE MADE TO REACH AGREEMENT BEFORE THE BREZHNEV
VISIT TO BONN.
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